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POLAND

*President Brezhnev carefully balanced his remarks on Poland in his opening address yesterday to the Soviet Party Congress.*

Brezhnev criticized the West for conducting "subversive activity" aimed at undermining the socialist world, the Polish regime for past mistakes that led to the current crisis, and the "antisocialists" in the country for continuing to foster anarchy. On the other hand, he took note of the Polish party's new course to remedy the situation and acknowledged that some worker grievances were legitimate and that Poland's brand of socialism does not need to be an exact replica of the USSR's.

Despite this balance, Brezhnev used strong terms to make clear Moscow's ultimate willingness to intervene militarily to preserve Communist rule in Poland by stating that it "will not abandon fraternal socialist Poland in its hour of need." Unlike the Warsaw Pact summit communique of 5 December from which he quoted, the Soviet leader did not express confidence in the Kania regime's ability to succeed.

Brezhnev's emphasis on the "national and historical distinctions" of each socialist country and of the "variety of forms" for their social and economic organization appears to leave the door open to a settlement in Poland that retains some aspects of the changes that have occurred since last August. This statement, as well as his comment that "one should see what is really there," gave the impression that Brezhnev may have been speaking to other Soviet leaders who favor a tougher line on Poland.

New Trade Union Law

Progress in the negotiations of a new trade union law could help build the good will between Solidarity and the government that will be necessary for the success of the

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90-day strike moratorium. Agreement evidently has been reached on most of the provisions of the new law, including recognition of the party's "leading role" and codification of the unions' right to strike. Solidarity apparently agreed to a provision in the law that would allow the parliament to prohibit strikes for two months in the event of a "critical economic state." [REDACTED]

The two sides have yet to resolve the question of a farmers' union and the distribution of funds held by the government-controlled unions. A Solidarity adviser recently said that provisions for a rural union could be incorporated into a new law on farmers' self-management to be adopted later, but only if the government provides strong assurances that it will, in fact, agree to the union. The government would like to avoid such assurances, hoping that its specific agricultural reforms will blunt the farmers' demands for their own union. [REDACTED]

#### Possible Student Demonstrations

Another Solidarity adviser has told [REDACTED] that dissident leader Jacek Kuron is pressing students in Warsaw to commemorate, on 8 March, the repressive police actions in 1968 against students protesting censorship. The adviser said that Solidarity leaders were trying--with little apparent success--to persuade Kuron to drop the issue. If Kuron perseveres, some Solidarity leaders might be tempted to reopen the question of the role dissidents should play within the new labor union. [REDACTED]